2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. The women were very proud of their fancy needlework, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make clothing of them. There is nó sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaha*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur.*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

/772 cont./

842 826 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is signifitcant that in this case they are not permitted [756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 597 538 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 834 589 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile. These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies [756] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 145 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.